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THE TONIC PERSONAL PRONOUN
tu>tue>tuo IN OLD PISTOJESE.

MEYER-LÜBKE in his 'Italienische Grammatik,' §366, in speaking of the tonic personal pronouns says: "für die zweite findet sich bei Albertano¹ durchweg *tuo* nach *io*." I hope to prove, however, that the *o* in *tuo* is an off-glide, developed through *tu>tue>tuo*, either by assimilation, or by analogy to such forms as *più>piùe>piùo*, which occur so frequently in Albertano. As yet I have not been able to find anywhere else examples of *tuo* and *piùo*.

I have collected all the examples in Albertano of final *e>o*, and these fall into two divisions: I. Primary *e>o*; II. Secondary *e>o*.

I. Primary *e>o*: (*tuo*) *dicesto*, p. 59, l. 28; and *aveto* (*decto*), 68-36. Also *puro* occurs twice (*etiamdio*) *puro* (*airisti*), 59-35; (*d'ire*) *puro* (*incontra*), 67-40, while *pure* is found three times and *pur* twice. To show Albertano's fondness for final *o* in forms where *e* may also be used, I might add that *anc(h)o* occurs twenty-eight times, but *anche* and *anch'* (*è*) only once, each.

II. Secondary *e>o*: In the first place it may be well to establish the fact, that this *e* is an off-glide, since *tue* occurs only twice and each time it is followed by a syllable whose vowel is *e*.

I. This *e* is of frequent occurrence in Albertano² in the following cases:

a. FORMS IN *a+e*.

1. Monosyllables: *dae* 6 times, *da* 1; *vae* 3; *va* 1; *àe* 18, *à* 10; *sae* 16, *sa*—; *fae* 33, *fa* 1; *stae* 2, *istà* 1; *giae* 1, *gia* 6.
2. I Fut. 3. s., *àe* 20 times, *à* 54.
3. The Pres. subj.: *siae* 1 time, *sia* 49.

b. FORMS IN *i+e*.

- quie* 5 times, *qui*—; *die* (= *dici>di*) 2, *dì* 2; *fohe* 1, *foli*—; *vollie* 4, *vollì* 6; but *chosie* 4, *chosi* 39.

c. FORMS IN *o+e*.

1. Monosyllables: *doe* 1, *do*—; *soe* 1, *so*—; *de* 8, *ð* 13.

¹ 'Volgarizzamento dei Trattati Morali' di Albertano Giudice di Brescia da Soffredi del Grazia notaro Pistoiese. Fatto innanzi al 1278, Trovato da Sebastiano Ciampi. Firenze, 1832.

² Examine only fifty pages.

2. I Fut. 1. s. *de* 2, *ð* 5.

3. I Pret. 3, s. *de* 6, *ð* 11.

4. *altroe* 6, *altro* 23.

d. FORMS IN *u+e*.

fue 8, *fu*—

2. The presence of this glide *e* is also conclusively proved by its constant use in modern Pistoiese. Not to speak of its use after final *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, I shall confine myself to examples of this *e* after *u*. The Pistoiese *contadini* always say *tue*, *fue*, *piùe*, *giùe*, *sue* (> *susum*), *lassue*,³ etc. Frequent examples are found in other Tuscan dialects: Senese, *piùe*, *giùe*, *tue*, *sùe* (Hirsch, *Zschr. f. r. Phil.*, ix, 536); Florentine, *fue* ('Crest.' 4 24); *tue* (Tancia,⁵ 911) *piùe* (Lam. di Cec.,⁶ *giùe* (c. Son., 7 7); *Gesue* (50).

Now since this *e* is shown beyond doubt to be an off-glide, may it not, just as primary *e*, develop into *o*?

In order to answer this question let us consider the following developments in Albertano.

1. *rendò* (*lode*) 20-34 is out of *rendée>rendé* as is proved by such forms as *ée*, *potée*, etc.

2. *più>piùe>piùo*. The form *più* occurs seven times, *piùe* twice and *piùo* sixty-seven times. Of the sixty-seven times that *piùo* is found, it is immediately preceded or followed twenty-nine times by a syllable containing *o*, and in five cases it is followed by the word *tosto* which does not occur once with *più* or *piùe*. Examples: *piuo tosto* 8-38, 21-3, 25-17, 45-13, 47-24; *piuo ode*, 11-23; *molto piuo* 22-11; *chon piuo dolcie* 27-25, 38-8; *piuo suole* 31-9; *piuo fort'* 35-32; *piuo cid* 39-7; *piuo folli* 47-33; *piuo potere* 53-16; *dico piuo* 56-21, 65-18; *piuo potenti* 60-1; *sono piuo potente* 61-7; *alto piuo*, etc. I believe, therefore, that the *o* in *piùo* is due to assimilation first to the preceding *u*, for physiologically and acoustically *o* is a more natural glide than *e* after the labial vowel *u*;

³ I take these examples, all of which I have frequently heard, from my thesis on the Pistoiese dialect; which I hope to publish in the near future.

⁴ Ernesto Monaci: 'Crestomazia Italiana dei Primi Secoli.' Città di Castello, 1889.

⁵ Michelangelo Buonarroti il Giovane, 'La Fiera e la Tancia.' Firenze, 1860.

⁶ Francesco Baldovini: 'Lamento di Cecco da Varlungo.' Firenze, 1817.

⁷ Puccino: 'Cento Sonetti in Vernacolo Fiorentino.' Firenze, 1890.

that is, the rounding of the lips is kept up and the tongue is lowered so that the resonance chamber is made larger. The next assimilating influence is evidently that of the *o* in syllables immediately preceding or following, beginning probably with the tonic *o* in *tosto* with which it is so frequently used, and finally being used without regard to surrounding vowel sounds.

3. Now let us consider *tu>tue>tuo*. The form *tu* (or *isttu*) occurs twenty-four times, *tue* twice and *tuo* (or *isttuo*) one hundred and twenty-nine times. Of these examples of *tuo* (or *isttuo*) *slù* it is immediately preceded or followed forty-seven times by a syllable containing *o*, and in twenty cases it is used with the negative, which does not occur once with *tu* (or *isttu*) or *tue*. Examples: *tuo no(n)* 4-7, 6-31; 10-14, 10-34, 24-19, 25-11, 25-37, 25-40, 30-35, 31-4, 31-36, 32-8, 52-5, 53-13, 53-15, 55-3, 57-30; *non tuo* 8-34, 23-40, 52-37; *tuo potresti* 4-36; *tuo posse* 2-21; *quando tuo* 14-2, 30-35; *tuo lo volessi* 20-6; *questo tuo* 31-4; *tuo fossi* 31-38, etc. We thus see that *tu>tue>tuo* is exactly a parallel case with *più>piùe>piùo*. Now just as *piùo* begins with *tosto*, then is used with *o* in other words, and finally with any vowel sound, why cannot *tuo* begin with the negative, then with any *o* immediately preceding or following, and finally be used without regard to its surroundings?

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GERMANIC PHILOLOGY.

Grundriss der Germanischen Philologie, unter Mitwirkung von K. von Amira, W. Arndt, O. Behaghel, A. Brandl, H. Jellinghaus, K. Th. von Inama-Sternegg, Kr. Kålund, Fr. Kauffmann, F. Kluge, R. Kögel, R. von Liliencron, K. Luick, A. Lundell, J. Meier, E. Mogk, A. Noreen, J. Schipper, H. Schück, A. Schultz, Th. Siebs, E. Sievers, B. Symons, F. Vogt, Ph. Wegener, J. te Winkel, J. Wright, herausgegeben von Hermann Paul, ord. Professor der deutschen Sprache und Literatur an der Universität Freiburg i. B.—I. Lieferung. Mit einer Tafel. Strassburg: Karl J. Trübner. 1889, 256 pp. 8vo.

Auf verschiedenen Gebieten der Philologie

nimmt man das Bestreben wahr, den gegenwärtigen Stand der Disciplinen ihrem ganzen Umfange nach in handlicher Form unter Beteiligung einer Reihe von Fachgenossen darzustellen. Ich erinnere z. B. an Iwan Müller's Handbuch der klassischen Altertums-Wissenschaft oder Gröber's Grundriss der Romanischen Philologie. Derartige Handbücher sind dem Lernenden und dem grösseren Publicum stets willkommen. Auch die Wissenschaft wird in der Regel dabei gewinnen. Denn Werke dieser Art erleichtern nicht nur den Zugang zu den einzelnen Disciplinen, sondern fast jeder, dem ein Zweig der Wissenschaft zur Bearbeitung anvertraut ist, wird auch seinen Fachgenossen dieses oder jenes Neue zu sagen wissen; und sollte gelegentlich einem der Mitarbeiter der von ihm übernommene Teil ganz misraten sein, so wird dies fast immer durch hervorragende Leistungen anderer, die an dem Werke beteiligt sind, einigermaßen ausgeglichen werden. Eine Gefahr freilich liegt dabei nahe. Jede Darstellung einer Wissenschaft, die von einem einzelnen Gelehrten ausgeht, trägt immer ein mehr oder weniger subjectives Gepräge. Die Gefahr bleibt auch bei der Zerlegung des Gesamtgebietes in einzelne Zweige bestehen. So lange nur *ein* Werk dieser Art vorhanden ist, müssen wir bei jedem einzelnen Teile darauf gefasst sein, eine einseitige Darstellung zu erhalten, die namentlich Anfänger und Autodidakten nach einer bestimmten Richtung hin beeinflussen kann, welche nicht von allen Fachgenossen, ja vielleicht nicht einmal von der Mehrheit der Fachgenossen geteilt wird. Ich halte es aus diesem Grunde für wünschenswert, dass compendiöse Darstellungen einer Wissenschaft von möglichst verschiedenen Seiten und Richtungen aus unternommen werden. Dann wird sowohl das, worin alle übereinstimmen, wie die noch bestehenden Meinungsverschiedenheiten schärfer hervortreten, und es kann um so mehr bei letzteren auf Einigung der Standpunkte hingearbeitet werden.

Es ist nicht meine Aufgabe, hier zu untersuchen, wie weit Paul's Grundriss—der in demselben Verlage erscheint, wie Gröber's Grundriss und mit letzterem auch in seiner Anlage sich berührt—eine Förderung der Germanischen Philologie bedeutet und wie weit